

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7858
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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AMCONSUL LAHORE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 ISLAMABAD 6232

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, PK
SUBJECT: CMLA GEN ZIA'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION-DOMESTIC POLITICAL
ASPECTS

REF: A) ISLAMABAD 5954, B) ISLAMABAD 6173 C) ISLAMABAD 0335

1. SUMMARY: IN A NATIONALLY TELEVISED ADDRESS TO THE NATION,
CHIEF MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATOR (CMLA) GENERAL ZIA UL-HAQ
ANNOUNCED HIS INTENTION TO RESHUFFLE HIS GOVERNMENT ON THE
FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF HIS COUP ON 5 JULY, DISPENSING WITH
THE JURY-RIG COUNCIL OF ADVISORS THROUGH WHICH HE HAS BEEN
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OPERATING FOR MOST OF A YEAR AND APPOINTING A MORE
CONVENTIONAL COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. IN SO DOING, HE FORMALLY ABANDONED
HIS QUEST FOR A "NATIONAL GOVERNMENT," CRITICIZED THE POLITICIANS FOR
THEIR LACK OF RESPONSIBILITY AND REFUSAL TO PLAY BALL, AND RENEWED
HIS COMMITMENT TO ELECTIONS. WHILE AVOIDING SETTING AN ELECTION DATE,
HE LAID OUT A SCHEDULE WHICH WILL PRODUCE LOCAL BODIES ELECTIONS, A
RELAXATION OF THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, THE END OF THE "PROCESS

OF ACCOUNTABILITY," AND THE PREPARATION OF ELECTION ROLLS BY YEAR'S END. THIS COULD LEAD TO GENERAL ELECTIONS IN THE SPRING OF 1978 -- MAYBE. END SUMMARY.

2. IN HIS TELEVISED ADDRESS TO THE NATION JUNE 25, COVERING A RANGE OF SUBJECTS BEING REPORTED SEPARATELY, CMLA GEN ZIA THREW IN THE SPONGE ON HIS EFFORT TO FORM A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WITH "THE AIM OF ASSOCIATING IMPORTANT POLITICAL LEADERS IN POWER" AND GAINING "THEIR COOPERATION IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS." EFFECTIVELY REJECTING THE POLITICIAN'S TERMS FOR SUCH PARTICIPATION, THE CMLA SAID HE "REGRETTED" THAT THEY HAD FAILED TO RISE ABOVE INDIVIDUAL AND PARTY CONSIDERATIONS IN THEIR APPROACH TO THE PROPOSAL." (THE POLITICIANS THEMSELVES, MAINLY THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH THE PAKISTAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE

(PNA), BROKE OFF THEIR OWN DISCUSSIONS OF THE PROPOSAL LATE LAST WEEK, UNABLE TO AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES OR WITH THE CMLA ON THE CMLA'S TERMS FOR SUCH PARTICIPATION.)

3. THE CMLA THEN ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD SHUFFLE HIS GOVERNMENT ON 5 JULY, THE ONE-YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF HIS BLOODLESS TAKEOVER. HIS PLANS, HE SAID, INCLUDE REPLACING THE PRESENT COUNCIL OF ADVISORS AT THE CENTER WITH A FORMAL CABINET, MADE UP OF MINISTERS HE WILL APPOINT. HIS ACTION AT THE CENTER WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY PARELLEL ACTION AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL WHERE CABINETS WILL ALSO BE FORMED.

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4. OTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS AFFECTING POLITICAL LIFE IN THE COUNTRY INCLUDED:

--THE CMLA'S STATEMENT THAT HIS MARCH 1978 BAN ON ALL FORMS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN PAKISTAN WILL REMAIN IN FOR FOR TWO TO THREE MONTHS MORE (IT HAD BEEN A DEMAND OF THE PAKISTAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE LEADERS THAT THE BAN BE LIFTED IMMEDIATELY). HE PROMISED THAT THE BAN WILL BE RELAXED THEREAFTER TO PERMIT ORGANIZATION ELECTIONS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES WHICH CAN TAKE PLACE "WITHIN FOUR WALLS." AND, HE INDICATED

HE HAD IN MIND LIFTING ALL RESTRICTIONS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND ASSEMBLY BUT ONLY DURING THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING GENERAL ELECTIONS.

--THE GENERAL'S COMMITMENT, ANEW, TO HOLDING ELECTIONS. HE DECLINED--AS USUAL--TO BE SPECIFIC ABOUT TIMING, HOWEVER, AND HE REMINDED HIS VIEWERS THAT ELECTIONS ARE NOT AN END IN THEMSELVES. THEY ARE, HE SAID, A MEANS TO AN END, AND THAT END IS TO "EVOLVE" A LEADERSHIP WHICH CAN "CREATE STABILITY AND A CLIMATE OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRY."

THE UPDATE OF CONSTITUENCY BOUNDARIES, ELECTION ROLLS, AND SEPARATE CONSTITUENCIES FOR NON-MUSLIM MINORITIES WILL CONTINUE, HE SAID.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 ISLAMABAD 6232

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

--THE CMLA'S PROMISE OF A SPEED-UP IN THE "PROCESS OF ACCOUNTABILITY,"

THE EXAMINATION OF THE MISDEEDS OF BHUTTO ERA OFFICE-HOLDERS AND
OFFICIALS. (MARTIAL LAW ORDER 47, ISSUED 26 JUNE, IMPLEMENTS THIS.)
SO FAR, HE SAID, 44 POLITICIANS HAD BEEN FOUND GUILTY OF MIS-USE OF
POWER AND BARRED FROM POLITICAL LIFE FOR SEVEN YEARS. HE ARGUED THAT
THE SLOW PACE OF THE PROCESS WAS "THE MAIN REASON" FOR THE DELAY IN
HOLDING ELECTIONS THUS FAR, AND HE DENIED CATEGORICALLY THAT HIS IN-
TENTION TO FORM CABINET GOVERNMENTS AT THE CENTER AND IN THE PROVINCES

REPRESENTS ANY DEVIATION IN HIS REGIME'S COMMITMENT TO HOLD ELECTIONS.

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THE "PROCES OF ACCOUNTABILITY," HE SAID IS AN "IMPORTANT STEP" TOWARD

ELECTIONS; SO ALSO WOULD BE LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD BE PROMULGATED TO EMPOWER THE ELECTION COMMISSION TO PERMIT ONLY THOSE PARTIES WHOSE "IDEOLOGY" IS CONSISTENT WITH THE IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN AND WITH NATIONAL INTEGRITY TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS. THE LEGISLATION WOULD

ALSO REQUIRE FULL DISCLOSURE OF FUNDING.

3. THE CMLA ALSO CAM DOWN HARD ON THE ABUSES, AS HE SEES THEM, WHICH ARE NOW TAKING PLACE IN STUDENT POLITICS ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES AROUND

THE COUNTRY. HE SAID THE MLA HAD DECIDED "TO BANISH POLITICS FROM EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS," BUT HE DID NOT SAY HOW HE HOPES TO ACCOMPLISH THIS. (RECENT STUDENT ELECTIONS HAVE RESULTED IN VICTORY BY VARIOUS RADICAL CAUSES, BOTH LEFT AND RIGHT; PRESUMABLY HE MEANS TO PREVENT FURTHER STUDENT ELECTIONS.)

5. IN A MEETING WITH AMB JUNE 26, SECRETARY-GENERAL-IN-CHIEF GHULAM ISHAQ COMMENTED THAT FORMATION OF A CABINET WILL HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF REGULARIZING GOVERNMENTAL PROCEDURES. IT WILL, HE SAID, "STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF THOSE ADVISERS WHO WILL BE ASKED TO STAY ON," WHILE GIVING THE CMLA A CHANCE TO APPOINT NEW FACES. THE TITLE OF "ADVISOR" HAS BEEN "AMBIGUOUS," WHEREAS THE TITLE OF "MINISTER" ADMITS NO AMBIGUITY IN ANYONE'S MIND. HE OFFERED NO SPECULATION AS TO WHO MIGHT STAY AND WHO MIGHT GO, BUT HE SAID NO POLITICIANS WILL BE APPOINTED PER SE; IF ANY ARE APPOINTED IT WILL BE BECAUSE THEY ARE ESPECIALLY WELL QUALIFIED FOR A SPECIFIC PORTFOLIO BY VIRTUE OF PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE.

6. COMMENT: THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT EXERCISE IS AT LAST OVER, TO EVERYONE'S RELIEF. NO ONE CAME OUT THE WINNER IN THAT FIVE-MONTH-LONG EXERCISE, BUT NO ONE -- EXCEPT PERHAPS THE COUNTRY -- CAME OUT THE

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LOSER EITHER. ZIA CAN CLAIM, WITH SOME JUSTIFICATION, THAT HE TRIED TO BRING THE POLITICIANS INTO HIS GOVERNMENT TO BENEFIT FROM THEIR POLITICAL SKILLS AND EXPERIENCE AND TO SHARE WITH HIM THE RESPONSIBILITY

FOR THE COUNTRY'S FUTURE. THE POLITICIANS, ESPECIALLY THE PNA LEADERS, CAN EQUALLY CLAIM THAT THEY STOOD UP FOR THEIR PRINCIPLES, HOWEVER MUCH SOME OF THEM WERE TEMPTED BY THE LURE OF MINISTERIAL PREREQUISITES, PATRONAGE, AND POWER. THEY COULD NOT AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES PRIMARILY, BUT THE NET EFFECT IS THAT THEY DECLINED TO ACCEPT MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY WITHOUT ASSURANCES ABOUT DEVOLUTION OF REAL POWER AND ABOUT AN EARLY LIFTING OF THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY

7. FOR SOME IN THE PNA LEADERSHIP, THE CMLA'S DECISION IS

A REPRIEVE; OTHERS WILL GREET THE CMLA'S ACTIONS WITH DISMAY AS THEY FEAR ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY TO COME TO POWER HAS ELUDED THEM. THE LONG DEBATE EXPOSED THE PNA'S MANY WEAKNESSES, AND THE WOUNDS WILL TAKE TIME TO HEAL.

8. FOR THOSE WITHIN THE PNA LEADERSHIP WHO ADVOCATED THROUGHOUT THE DEBATE A TOUGHER LINE WITH THE MLA, THE CMLA'S DECISION TO ABANDON THE EFFORT (AND TO TELL THE PNA ABOUT IT VIA TELEVISION) MAY WELL BE AN INCENTIVE FOR THE ALLIANCE TO TAKE A TOUGHER, LESS COMPLAISANT POSTURE TOWARD THE REGIME, TO RECOUP THE DAMAGE CAUSED BY AN ALREADY TOO CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NATION'S MILITARY RULERS. WE WOULD ANTICIPATE NEW PRESSURES FROM TMD PNA FOCUSED ON THE ELECTION ISSUE, EMPHASIZING THE NEED TO NAME A DATE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 ISLAMABAD 6232

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT--PARA THIRTEEN LINE NINE
WORD ELEVEN: "1979" VICE "1978")

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9. FOR THOSE PARTIES WHICH INSISTED ON THE PRIORITY OF ELECTIONS AND

STAYED ALOOF FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ISSUE, PRINCIPALLY ASGHAR KHAN'S TEHRIQ ISTIQLAL AND MAULANI NOORANI'S JUP, THE CMLA'S DECISION IS SOMETHING OF A VINDICATION. SO ALSO FOR BHUTTO'S APKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY, WHICH NEVER WAS ASKED TO PARTICIPATE AND WHICH--WITH TEHRIQ--HAS HAD THE MOST UNCOMPROMISING STAND AGAINST

COOPERATION WITH THE MLA AND FOR ELECTIONS. ASGHAR KHAN HAS ALREADY CRITICIZED ZIA'S SPEECH AS "HIGHLY DIAPPOINTING"

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BECAUSE OF ITS FAILURE TO NAME AN ELECTIONS DATE.

10. EVEN THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S DECISION TO STAY OUT, DESPITE PRESSURE FROM ITS PNA PARTNERS, WILL PRESUMABLY REDOUND TO THE PARTY'S CREDIT, EVEN THOUGH ITS LEADER, WALI KHAN, HAS BEEN MAKING STRONG PRO-MLA STATEMENTS FROM ENGLAND.

11. WE WILL BE ANALYZING THE MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATION'S FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE IN A REPORT NOW IN PREPARATION; WE WILL BE LOOKING ALSO TO THE YEAR AHEAD, INCLUDING THE PROSPECT OF ELECTIONS, ETC. WE WILL SAVE OUR LONGER RANGE COMMENTS UNTIL THAT IS COMPLETED AND UNTIL WE SEE WHAT ZIA'S CABINET ACTUALLY LOOKS LIKE.

12. FOR NOW, WE OFFER THE THOUGHT THAT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT EXERCISE WAS PERHAPS A NECESSARY PROCESS, HOWEVER IRRELEVANT TO THE REAL CONCERNS OF THIS COUNTRY. IT WAS THE FIRST SERIOUS DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GENERALS AND THE POLITICIANS, AND IT WAS CONDUCTED WITH A REMARKABLE AMOUNT OF CANDOR ON BOTHE SIDES -- AT LEAST UNTIL THE END. GENERAL ZIA HAS PRESUMABLY LEARNED THAT WHILE HE CAN PUT POLITICIANS IN JAIL, HE CANNOT COMPEL THEIR ACQUIESCENCE TO HIS TERMS FOR THE DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY AND POWER. THE POLITICIANS HAVE LEARNED THAT THEY CAN STAND UP TO HIM, WITH SOME EFFECT.

13. ZIA HAS ALSO LEARNED, HOPEFULLY, THAT NOTHING IS EVER EASY FOR THE PERSON WHO PRESUMES TO LEAD THIS NATION. HIS OPTIONS HAVE NOW NARROWED; HE CAN STAY ON, WITH A CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT MASKING MILITARY RULE BUT WITH POLITICAL ACTIVITY SHARPLY PROSCRIBED AND POLITICAL RESENTMENT SLOWLY ABUILDING. OR HE CAN MOVE IN GRADUAL STAGES TOWARD A RESTORATION OF CIVILIAN POWER--WHETHER OR NOT HE CONVERTS HIS OWN ROLE TO THAT OF A POLITICIAN -- THROUGH THE EXERCISE OF FREE ELECTIONS. THE PROGRAM HE HAS OUTLINED IN HIS 25 JULY SPEECH STILL POINTS TO ELECTIONS--MAYBE IN THE SPRING OF 1979--ONCE THE OTHER CONDITIONS AND PROCESSES HE HAS OUTLINED ARE COMPLETED.

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WHATEVER HIS PERSONAL OPINION OF THE POLITICIANS WITH WHOM HE

HAS BEEN DEALING, WE THINK HE STILL MEANS IT.

14. TO THAT, WE WOULD ADD THAT ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS OF THE ZIA SPEECH IS HIS "HARD" COMMITMENT TO HOLD ELECTIONS TO "LOCAL BODIES" (URBANN AND RURAL, SUB-PROVINCIAL) THIS YEAR. CRITICS OF PAKISTAN'S POLITICAL PROCESS SINCE 1947 HAVE FREQUENTLY CITED THE FAILURE TO DEVELOP REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AT THE LOCAL LEVEL AS ONE OF THE COUNTRY'S GREATEST POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, AND DEVELOPMENTAL WEAKNESSES. THE POLITICIANS AT THE HELM OF PAKISTAN'S AFFAIRS CONCENTRATED ON STATE AND PROVINCIAL POLITICS THROUGHT MOST OF THE LAST THIRTY YEARS; AYUB KHAN'S "BASIC DEMOCRACIES" SCHEME, WITH ELECTIONS AT THE GROUP-OF-VILLAGES LEVEL WAS THE LAST EFFORT AT LOCAL BODIES DEMOCRACY.

15. THE 1973 CONSTITUTION, WHICH REMAINS THE LAW OF THE LAND EVEN UNDER THIS MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATION, CALLS FOR THE CREATION OF LOCAL BODIES, BUT FORMER PRIMIN BHUTTO, LIKE MOST OF HIS PREDECESSORS, STALLED ON IMPLEMENTING THIS REQUIREMENT, IN HIS CASE, BECAUSE HE DID NOT WISH TO HAVE HIS PARTY FALL SHORT OF VICTORY IN ALL PROVINCES; HE ACTUALLY OVERRULED PLANS BY THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT, UNDER FORMER CHIEF MINISTER RAMAY, TO HOLD LOCAL BODIES ELECTIONS. ZIA HAS PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED HIS FAITH IN GRASSROOTS DEMOCRACY, AND HE HAS IN MIND THAT THE ELECTIONS TO LOCAL BODIES SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT ON A NON-PARTY BASIS. IF HE CARRIES OUT HIS PROMISE, HIS ACTION MAY, IN FACT, BE ONE OF THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY STEPS ANY PAKISTANI LEADER HAS TAKEN TOWARD ALTERING THE TERMS OF THE POLITICAL COMPACT IN PAKISTAN. HUMMEL

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